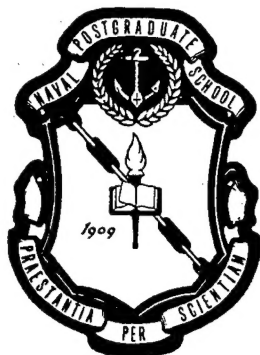


Naval Postgraduate School
Monterey, California 93943-5138



SUMMARY OF RESEARCH 1996

**Department of National
Security Affairs**

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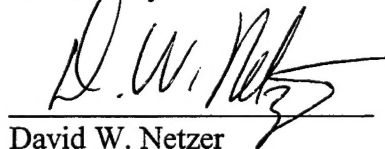
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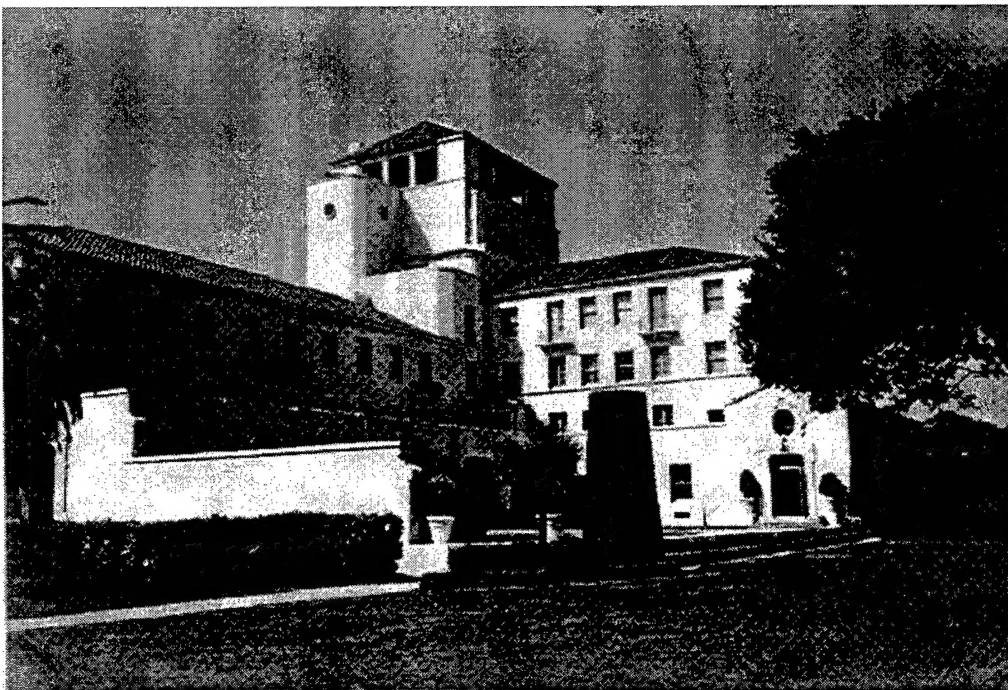
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**DEPARTMENT OF
NATIONAL SECURITY AFFAIRS**

**FRANK M. TETI
ACTING CHAIR**

THE NAVAL POSTGRADUATE SCHOOL MISSION

The mission of the Naval Postgraduate School is to increase the combat effectiveness of US and Allied armed forces and enhance the security of the USA through advanced education and research programs focused on the technical, analytical, and managerial tools needed to confront defense-related challenges.



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Preface

Research is an integral part of graduate education. At the Naval Postgraduate School (NPS), the goals of research are to:

- Provide a meaningful, high quality, capstone learning experience for our students.
- Keep faculty on the leading edge of advances in defense-related science, technology, management and policy to ensure that the latest information is incorporated into NPS courses and curricula.
- Apply faculty and student knowledge to enhance DoN/DoD operational effectiveness.

Pursuit of these goals increases the technical and managerial capability of the officer corps to keep pace with an increasingly complex defense posture in today's world.

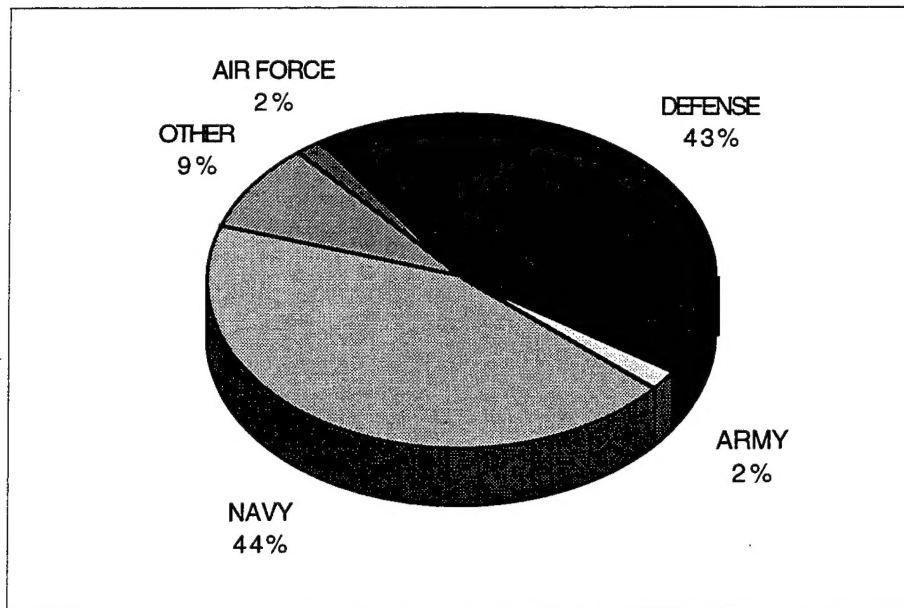
New technologies and policy changes will of course occur, necessitating changes in educational programs and stronger ties between the fleet and the support establishment. NPS must remain poised to face this challenge and to utilize emerging technologies and new policies within its curricula programs. Faculty, therefore, must stay abreast of these developments through a dynamic research program that helps fulfill the School's goals of excellence, uniqueness, and relevance.

The overall research program at NPS has three funded components. The Direct Funded Research and Institute for Joint Warfare Analysis Programs are institutionally funded within the School's operating budget. The Direct Funded Research Program is administered by the Associate Provost and Dean of Research. The Institute for Joint Warfare Analysis Program is administered by the Director of IJWA.

- The Direct Funded Research (DFR) Program provides funding to stimulate innovative research ideas of benefit to the DoN and may be used for cost-sharing with reimbursable research efforts. This funding ensures, in particular, that all Navy-sponsored NPS curricula are equitably supported, that new faculty are provided an opportunity to establish a research program of importance to DoN/DoD and other national security interests, and that faculty and students from across the campus are encouraged to interact with one another.
- The Institute for Joint Warfare Analysis Research Program provides funding to stimulate innovative research ideas with a strong emphasis on joint, interdisciplinary areas. This funding ensures that joint relevance is a consideration of faculty research.
- The Reimbursable Research (RR) Program includes those projects externally funded on the basis of proposals submitted to outside sponsors by the School's faculty. These funds allow the faculty to interact closely with RDT&E program managers and high-level policy makers throughout the Navy, DoD, and other government agencies as well as with the private sector in defense-related technologies. This ensures that NPS research remains highly regarded by academic peers and government officials and fosters a closer relationship between NPS and other outside organizations.

The three research programs are complementary and ensure that the overall research program is flexible, responsive, balanced and supportive of the unique needs of the military.

In 1996, the level of the research effort at the Naval Postgraduate School was 141 faculty workyears and exceeded 29 million dollars. Eighty percent of the research was funded by reimbursable sponsors and 20 percent was funded by the Naval Postgraduate School. Sixty-five percent of the work was performed for the Navy and the remainder was sponsored by other agencies, both DoD and non-DoD. A profile of the reimbursable program of the Department of National Security Affairs is provided in Figure 1:



Size of Program: \$749K

Figure 1. Department of National Security Affairs - Sponsor Profile

Research at NPS is carried out by faculty in the School's eleven Academic Departments, four Interdisciplinary Groups and the School of Aviation Safety. In the pages that follow, research summaries are provided for projects undertaken by faculty in the Department of National Security Affairs during 1996. An overview and faculty listing are provided as an introduction. A list of publications is also included, if applicable. Abstracts for thesis advised by department faculty in 1996 complete this research summary.

Questions about particular projects may be directed to the Faculty Principal Investigator listed, the Department/Group Chair, or the Department Associate Chair for Research. Questions may also be directed to the Research Office. General questions about the NPS Research Program should be directed to the Research Office at (408) 656-2098 (voice) or research@nps.navy.mil (e-mail).

August 1997

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DEPARTMENT SUMMARY

The research conducted by the faculty in the Department of National Security Affairs included the following themes:

(1) National and Regional Security and Defense Policies including virtually all of Europe, East and West, Russia and Ukraine; Latin America; the Middle East; South, East and South East Asia. The research in these areas deals with topics such as civil/military relations, foreign relations between and among groups of states, the role of regional organizations such as NATO and the UN, and bilateral relations with the United States.

(2) The general topics of revolutions, low intensity conflict, and special operations. While dealing with the overall theme of political violence and insurrections, and covering much of the world, the strongest focus has been on different cases in Latin America.

(3) U.S. Defense Policy, particularly regarding the role of different national institutions including the Executive and Legislative branches and the different services.

(4) The overall theme of intelligence, and how it is becoming increasingly joint. Here the emphasis is primarily on the emerging themes of intelligence and the new or changing structures whereby the United States obtains and processes information.

(5) U.S. Naval Strategy, and particularly the implications for the Navy of the new doctrine in "From the Sea." The focus on new naval strategy holds implications for the relationships with other services and allied services.

(6) The economics of U.S. and other countries' defense strategies. Here the emphasis is on the cost of defense, the economic implications of defense, and such themes as "economic warfare."

(7) Certain "hot" topics of tremendous importance including counter-proliferation, cyberwar, peacekeeping, deterrence, and arms control. In many cases these topics are situated in a national or regional context, and they often bridge several of themes noted in the other categories.

The faculty in the Department have developed a research agenda which encompasses the most important and relevant themes of international security and defense. They are virtually all active researchers with great experience in their areas of topics of choice and with an emphasis upon analysis and policy. The research is increasingly supported by reimbursable funding. The results of the research is provided to sponsors through reports and briefings, and is often made available to a larger public through the publication of scholarly articles and books.

PROJECT SUMMARIES

WEAPONS PROLIFERATION IN THE DEVELOPING WORLD: AN INSTITUTIONAL THEORY APPROACH

Dana P. Eyre, Lecturer
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Postgraduate School

OBJECTIVE: This work seeks to understand the dynamics of weapons proliferation in the developing world, and focuses on examining the role of world level cultural models of appropriate nation-state behavior in weapons proliferation.

SUMMARY: In earlier stages of this project arguments were developed, grounded in organizational and political sociology, aimed at understanding the proliferation of military weaponry throughout the developing world. These arguments, in contrast with those traditionally used in security studies, are designed to systematically examine the role of "status," "prestige," and "cultural" factors in the proliferation of weaponry. These factors, while traditionally acknowledged as potentially significant drivers of weapons proliferation, are rarely systematically theorized or empirically evaluated. In the project's current stage, these arguments are being empirically evaluated using a variety of quantitative techniques and case studies. The project is designed to offer an alternative perspective on the proliferation of weaponry, to test the perspective empirically, and to explore the policy implications of these arguments. A fuller understanding of these processes is critical as concern for weapons proliferation and arms control in the developing world increases. The policy implications of this project are straightforward: if "status" or "prestige" processes systematically and significantly shape weapons proliferation, policies aimed at controlling proliferation must take this into consideration. It can be argued, however, that some current counter-proliferation policies not only fail to do this, but in fact serve to reinforce the "status" or "prestige" value of the weapons they seek to control.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO BOOKS:

Eyre, Dana P. and Suchman, Mark, "Status, Norms and the Proliferation of Conventional Weapons: An Institutional Theory Approach." in The Culture of National Security: Norms and Identity in World Politics, Katzenstein, Peter J., (ed), Columbia: New York, NY, pp 79-113, 1996.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Weapons Proliferation)

KEYWORDS: Weapon, proliferation, culture, developing world

INTERSERVICE RIVALRY AND THE AMERICAN ARMED FORCES

Daniel Moran, Assistant Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsors: Army War College, Air War College, RAND Corporation, and
National Postgraduate School-Institute for Joint Warfare Analysis

OBJECTIVE: The focus of this project was a two-day conference held at NPS in March, 1996. The conference was a public event, which attracted an audience of about 75 people from around the country and overseas. It included thirty speakers from academia, government agencies, the armed services, and Congress. Papers dealt with interservice rivalry as a historical phenomenon since 1945, and as an influence on contemporary policy, strategy, and force structure.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Other

KEYWORDS: Interservice rivalry, force structure

PROJECT SUMMARIES

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF NATIONAL SECURITY

Daniel Moran, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Postgraduate School

OBJECTIVE: This project investigates the interaction between social change and military strategy, with particular emphasis on the evolving understanding of "security" among the major powers.

SUMMARY: Two publications relating to this project appeared during 1995. Two additional papers were delivered during 1996. The first, at the 1996 meeting of the Great War Society, was entitled "History and Learning: The World Wars, 1914-1945." The second, entitled "'Soldiers': The Nation in Arms and the German Idea of Security, 1815-1871," was presented at the September, 1996 meeting of the Institute for Advanced Study Seminar on Force in History. This latter paper will be included in a volume of seminar proceedings that is now being assembled.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:

Moran, D., "History and Learning: The World Wars, 1914-1945," 1996 Meeting of the Great War Society.

Moran, D., "Soldiers: The Nation in Arms and the German Idea of Security, 1815-1871," 1996 Meeting of the Institute for Advanced Study Seminar on Force in History.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Other

KEYWORDS: Social change, military strategy

SOCIO-POLITICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING VARIATIONS IN THE INTENSITY OF TERRORIST VIOLENCE

Maria Moyano, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Postgraduate School

OBJECTIVE: A multiyear project in which the Principal Investigator reflects on the various factors which can influence a terrorist strategy, in addition to the most obvious one, a response to specific government antiterrorist policy.

SUMMARY: Research first focused on the specific effects on government antiterrorist policies on terrorist organizations and moved towards the end of the year to a new topic, the impact that social forces not affiliated with the government have on terrorist overall strategies.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Other

KEYWORDS: Terrorism, antiterrorism

AFTER THE PEACE: ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM AND POLITICAL STABILITY IN SYRIA

Glen E. Robinson, Assistant Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense

OBJECTIVE: This research project sought to explore domestic politics in Syria in the aftermath of an anticipated negotiated peace with Israel. The Syrian regime has long justified its authoritarian rule as a necessary component of the struggle with Israel. What will happen to the Ba'thist regime of Hafiz al-Asad once its *raison d'etre* vanishes? What social forces will a settlement unleash? In particular, how will the Islamic fundamentalist movement in Syria respond

PROJECT SUMMARIES

to such a dramatic change in the domestic and regional situation? The real potential for chaos in Syria and, by extension, regional instability poses serious questions for U.S. interests and policies in the region.

PUBLICATIONS:

Robinson, G.E., "After the Peace: Elite Cohesion and Regime Stability in Syria," Technical Report, OASD-ISA, October 1996.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Other

KEYWORDS: Syria, Ba'thist regime, Islamic fundamentalism

U.S. DEFENSE RESTRUCTURING FOR THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

Paul N. Stockton, Associate Professor

Department of National Security Affairs

Sponsor: Defense Security Assistance Agency

OBJECTIVE: The goal of this project is to produce a book-length manuscript investigating how the end of the Cold War has altered the U.S. defense policy making process and civil-military relations, and to draw some broader theoretical conclusions concerning the impact of international change on domestic political structures.

SUMMARY: In response to the advent of the cold war, the United States made significant organizational changes in defense policy making institutions, and (compared to earlier periods of U.S. history) kept peacetime forces and defense spending at unprecedented levels. With the breakup of the Soviet Union, what will become of the U.S. institutions and civil-military relations that evolved in response to the Soviet threat? How will this institutional and domestic political legacy of the Cold War shape the U.S. response to the new security era? The project describes the Cold War-era defense policy making process and civil-military relationships to provide a baseline for examining subsequent changes. Then, the project examines the history of defense policy making since the collapse of the Berlin Wall in 1989, and analyzes the underlying changes in the policy making process and civil-military relations that have shaped U.S. decisions on force structure. The project concludes by drawing some broader lessons concerning the impact of international change on domestic-level determinants of state behavior, and contrasting those lessons with the existing theories in the field. The project relies on over 100 interviews conducted by the P.I. of senior DoD officials, Members of Congress and their staffs, and other relevant personnel, as well as original and secondary documents covering the post-cold War period.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:

Stockton, P.N., "Goldwater-Nichols and American Civil-Military Relations," Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Francisco, CA, 31 August, 1996.

Stockton, P.N., "Interservice Rivalry, Jointness, and Civilian Control," Conference on Interservice Rivalry and the American Armed Forces, Monterey, CA, 5-6 March, 1996.

Stockton, P.N., "Recent Developments in U.S. Civil-Military Relations," Conference on: A Crisis in Civilian Control? Contending Theories of American Civil-Military Relations, Harvard University, Olin Institute for Strategic Studies, Cambridge, MA, 11-12 June, 1996.

THESIS DIRECTED:

Vitaliy Malashchenko, "NATO Enlargement: Implications for Eastern European States," Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 1996.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Other (Civil-Military Relations)

PROJECT SUMMARIES

KEYWORDS: Civil-military relations, political science, defense policy making.

MILITARY DOCTRINES AND CAPABILITIES IN THE POST-SOVIET SECURITY ENVIRONMENT

Mikhail Tsypkin, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Information Warfare Activity

OBJECTIVE: In this multiyear project, the Principal Investigator can select, in consultation with the sponsor, a particular aspect of the post-Soviet security policy and focus on it throughout the year. In 1996, the focus was on strategic C3 in Russia.

SUMMARY: The Principal Investigator began cooperation with Russian specialists on strategic C3.

OTHER:

The proceedings of the 1995 conference (supported by the same multiyear project), "War in Chechnya: Implications for Russian Security," 1996 both as an NPS occasional paper, and on the Web.

DOD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Command, Control and Communications

KEYWORDS: Russia, C3, nuclear weapons

FUTURE ISSUES IN ARMS CONTROL COMPLIANCE

James Wirtz, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Sea Systems Command

OBJECTIVE: This project will respond to a series of research questions concerning future issues related to arms control compliance posed by the Navy International Program Office and N3/5 Office of the Chief of Naval Operations.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Other (Arms Control)

KEYWORDS: Arms control, start, chemical weapons convention

NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN A TRANSFORMED WORLD

James Wirtz, Associate Professor
Peter Lavoy, Assistant Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: United States Air Force Academy

OBJECTIVE: This project examines the impact and functions of nuclear weapons in a transformed international environment. The utility and disutility of nuclear weapons will be assessed, divorced from the bipolar framework under which earlier conceptualizations had to take place. Authors will address the dynamics associated with nuclear proliferation, multilateral deterrence, minimal deterrence, virtual deterrence and comprehensive nuclear disarmament.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Other (Nuclear Weapons)

KEYWORDS: Nuclear weapons, deterrence, proliferation, nuclear disarmament

PROJECT SUMMARIES

NUCLEAR TRANSPARENCY INITIATIVES WORKSHOP

James Wirtz, Associate Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: U.S. Strategic Command

OBJECTIVE: The security issues that challenged the United States during the Cold War have been replaced by more ambiguous, but equally dangerous problems. To respond to one of these problems, this conference explores new initiatives in the area of nuclear transparency. The goal of this conference is to provide a forum that will stimulate discussion and new ideas that support the systematic development of Safeguards, Transparency and Irreversibility (STI) initiatives.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREAS: Other (Nuclear Transparency)

KEYWORDS: Nuclear weapons, proliferation, safeguards, transparency, irreversibility, nuclear disarmament, arms control

EUROPE AND INFORMATION WARFARE

D.S. Yost, Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Naval Information Warfare Activity

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this continuing project is to advance understanding of European security policy developments, especially with regard to the information warfare aspects of the "Revolution in Military Affairs." This includes matters such as doctrine, education and training, system development, and technology transfer policy in major NATO European governments, military organizations, and industrial establishments.

SUMMARY: Some theorists contend that a "Revolution in Military Affairs" takes place when new technologies are combined with innovative operational concepts and organizational adaptations that fundamentally change the character and conduct of military operations. This research effort has emphasized the analysis of primary sources from publications in NATO Europe regarding the information warfare aspects of the "Revolution in Military Affairs." A broad definition of "information warfare" has been utilized, in order to encompass means to exploit information systems, to attack those of adversaries, and to protect one's own and those of allies.

PUBLICATION:

Yost, D.S., "France and the Revolution in Military Affairs," for the conference entitled "The Revolution in Military Affairs," co-sponsored, in cooperation with the journal Security Studies, by the Joint Center for International and Security Studies, University of California at Davis, and the Department of National Security Affairs, Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, California, 28 August 1996.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Electronic Warfare, Other (Nuclear Deterrence, Revolution in Military Affairs)

KEYWORDS: France, Europe, information warfare, NATO, nuclear deterrence, revolution in military affairs

FRANCE, EUROPEAN SECURITY, AND THE REVOLUTION IN MILITARY AFFAIRS

D.S. Yost, Professor
Department of National Security Affairs
Sponsor: Under Secretary of Defense for Policy, Office of the Secretary of Defense

OBJECTIVE: The objective of this continuing project is to advance understanding of European security policy developments, especially with regard to France and the "Revolution in Military Affairs." This includes matters such as

PROJECT SUMMARIES

doctrine, system development, and technology policy in France and other major NATO European governments, military organizations, and industrial establishments.

SUMMARY: Some theorists contend that a "Revolution in Military Affairs" takes place when new technologies are combined with innovative operational concepts and organizational adaptations that fundamentally change the character and conduct of military operations. The key new technologies at the current juncture include information systems to gather, process, and disseminate data; extended-range, advanced conventional munitions; and simulations techniques to prepare and train forces and to develop new types of capabilities and operational concepts. The issues under investigation in this project also include the future of nuclear deterrence, conventional deterrence and force planning, possible NATO expansion, missile defense, Combined Joint Task Forces, developments in Russia and Ukraine, Mediterranean and North African security, and European security and defense identity.

PUBLICATION:

Yost, D.S., "France's Nuclear Dilemmas," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 75 (January/February 1996), pp. 108-118.

CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS:

Yost, D.S., "France and Combined Joint Task Forces," for a seminar organized by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, the Pentagon, Washington, DC., 1 March 1996.

Yost, D.S., "France and NATO Reform," for a seminar organized by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, the Pentagon, Washington, DC., 25 June 1996.

THESES DIRECTED:

Dabrowski, Richard S., , "Russian-American Cooperation in Weapons of Mass Destruction Counterproliferation," Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, September 1996.

Lambert, Stephen P, and Miller, David A., "U.S. Nuclear Weapons in Europe: The Current Environment and Prospects for the Future," Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 1996 graduates.

Good, Charles P, "NATO Operations in the Former Yugoslavia: Prototyping the Combined Joint Task Force," Master's Thesis, Naval Postgraduate School, December 1996.

DoD KEY TECHNOLOGY AREA: Other (Nuclear Deterrence, Revolution in Military Affairs)

KEYWORDS: Strategy, France, Europe, NATO, nuclear deterrence, revolution in military affairs

PUBLICATIONS/PRESENTATIONS

JOURNAL PAPERS

Yost, D.S., "France's Nuclear Dilemmas," Foreign Affairs, Vol. 75 (January/February 1996), pp. 108-118.

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Moran, D., "History and Learning: The World Wars, 1914-1945," 1996 Meeting of the Great War Society.

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Yost, D.S., "France and Combined Joint Task Forces," for a seminar organized by the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs, the Pentagon, Washington, DC, 1 March 1996.

Yost, D.S., "Recent Developments in French Nuclear Weapons Policy," for an informal session of the NATO Nuclear Planning Group Staff, at NATO Headquarters, Brussels, Belgium, 29 March 1996.

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MOROCCO: AN EMERGING MARKET

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This thesis focuses on the evolution of the Moroccan economy. It also looks at how the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Program delayed decentralization and how its success led to privatization that resulted in improved performance of the economy.

During the first decades after the independence, the Moroccan economy made considerable strides. The intervention of the government was essential and, as a result, the GDP averaged 5.6% in 1968-72 and 7.5% in 1973-77. Investment expanded but savings and exports did not follow the same stream. However, since 1976, financial disequilibrium began to lessen growth and development.

Decentralization was institutionalized to avoid misadministration, inefficiency, and to improve decision making. The purpose was to give more autonomy to the communes and more importance to the local market. However, the crisis emerged in 1981 and Morocco was forced to call IMF and launch the Structural Adjustment Program that lasted ten years.

The success of the SAP resulted in the implementation of privatization. Actually, the performance of the economy is the best indicator that Morocco would play an important role in the region as interface between Europe, Middle East, and Africa. Finally the analysis suggests that there are many reasons to be optimistic over Morocco's economic future and the development of a viable emerging stock market.

TRANSFORMING CENTRALLY-PLANNED ECONOMIES: THE CASE OF POLAND

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The thesis analyzes the Polish experiences in the 1990s of the stabilization "shock therapy" implemented simultaneously with the set of system-transforming reforms. The primary research question was: is Poland on the right track to a market economy? The main thrust of the study is the critical evaluation of the efforts made by reformers of the Polish economy to lessen the gap between Poland and Western Europe. It presents the areas of success and failure, so that any reader could learn more about the significance and difficulties of economic transformation in Poland. The thesis starts with the analysis of the failure of the Soviet-type economy. However, the basic focus of the research is limited to evaluation of the period between 1989 and 1995 and to presentation of possible strategies for the last five years of the century. The thesis argues that the Polish experience of the first half of the 1990s has proved that traditional tools of macroeconomic stabilization can be a success in a largely socialist economy. Despite many problems and difficulties, today Poland enjoys the fastest economic growth in all of Europe. The Polish economy entered the 1990s as the weakest in Eastern Europe; it is heading for the new century with a good chance of emerging as the strongest.

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PREDATOR: MISSION CAPABLE ASSET FOR THE AFLOAT JOINT TASK FORCE COMMANDER

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The purpose of this thesis is to explore the afloat JTF Commanders' requirements for UAVs, highlighting the strengths and weaknesses of Predator as an operational asset in support of Naval forces. Special attention was given to Predator's capability to provide the afloat JTF Commander with near-real-time, continuous intelligence collection, targeting, mission planning, and real-time combat assessment.

This thesis examined the operational systems and vehicle technology of Predator as designed and presented as an Advanced Concept Technology Demonstration (ACTD) project for the development of an operational-level UAV. This paper furnished general and descriptive information on all aspects of the Predator UAV technology. It also identified and examined those joint tasks of the JTF Commander requiring UAV support. Predator operational platform testing and field training was examined to show that Predator is capable of aiding in the accomplishment of those tasks. Finally, this thesis concluded that Predator will aid the afloat JTF Commander in the performance of his duties in future maritime operations, if employed with current intelligence assets.

THE EFFECTS OF 1985 DEFENSE POLICY ON THE DEFENSE INFRASTRUCTURE OF TURKEY

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Turkey established a new defense policy in 1985 designed to build an indigenous defense industrial infrastructure. The policy has been in effect for nearly ten years. This study examines the new defense policy to determine whether it has been effective in its stated purposes of modernizing the Turkish Armed forces and developing a civilian infrastructure to support the armed forces. The method used is a detailed survey of the armored combat vehicle project, the largest project currently managed by the government organization put in place with the policy. The study shows that the policy creates the desired infrastructure, but that the current economic conditions inside Turkey make it difficult for Turkey to remain with the policy due to the high initial investment cost.

HOW MEN REBEL: AN ORGANIZATIONAL MODEL FOR INSURGENCY

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and

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Internal conflict is steadily increasing in importance. Whether it is called low intensity conflict or operations other than war, current conflict theories do not adequately explain the dynamics of internal conflict nor provide clear prescriptive policy guidance. This thesis serves two purposes. The first is to provide a model to analyze and describe internal conflict dynamics. The second is to provide decision makers with a strategic, systemic framework to successfully conduct internal war. The thesis is divided into four sections. The first examines internal conflict theories and develops

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a model. The second tests the model in three case studies demonstrating the explanatory effectiveness of the model. The third looks at the theoretical and practical implications of the model for an external actor such as the United States. The fourth section concludes the study and highlights policy prescriptions. A systemic approach to internal war provides policy makers at the NSC, DoD and DOS with a useful and objective decision making tool.

SPAIN'S STRATEGIC CULTURE AND THE IMPACT OF NATO

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Strategic culture has been both lauded as an important analytical tool in explaining behavior, and disparaged as an explanation of last resort. Theorists of strategic culture hold that, in certain circumstances, persistent beliefs and behavior patterns may suggest probable responses to threats or opportunities. This thesis, an examination of recent Spanish history from a strategic culture perspective, supports the use of strategic culture as a reliable indicator of probable state actions, at times despite the rhetoric of the state's political leadership. Well established aspects of strategic culture appear to persist in the absence of a cataclysmic event capable of modifying the patterns and beliefs of the preceding system. Barring such a catastrophic event, a state is likely to act in accordance with its traditional strategic culture. The peaceful transition since 1975 from authoritarian to democratic rule, as well as security assurances from the United States since 1953, have kept Spain from experiencing a trauma powerful enough to fundamentally alter its strategic culture. Spain's problems in domestic politics, economics, and military and foreign affairs may be attributed to a difficult national democratization process as well as to a strategic culture of isolationism. Owing to these larger factors, membership in NATO has had little impact on Spain's strategic culture.

ECONOMIC INTELLIGENCE: THE SILENT SUBSIDY

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This thesis endeavors to determine the appropriate role of the U.S. intelligence community in promoting the economic competitiveness of private sector firms. An examination of the intelligence community's current efforts under the rubric of economic competitiveness is followed by an analysis of the practical concerns over providing direct intelligence support to the commercial sector. Next, several legal issues are explored to include the intelligence community's authority to both collect and disseminate economic intelligence, and issues which might arise as a result of the commercial exploitation of government furnished economic intelligence. Following this analysis, a case study of one U.S. intelligence organization exemplifies the appropriate role for the intelligence community in this area. This domain of public policy has been the topic of intense debate in recent years, yet surprisingly little has been written on the subject. This thesis takes a qualitative step toward filling this information gap and represents a worthwhile offering to this highly contentious and under-researched area of policy debate.

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THE PARADOX OF POLITICAL ISLAM: UNITY AND DIVERSITY IN THE GREATER MIDDLE EAST

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With the worldwide political changes brought about by the end of the Cold War, political Islam has gained new significance as a potential threat to U.S. interests. Assessments of the phenomenon have varied, ranging from an Islamic replacement for the communist global ideological menace to a more legitimate expression of social and political activism within Muslim countries. The United States does not have a coherent long-term policy toward this resurgent ideological force. An objective assessment of political Islam must be developed to enable policy-makers to understand the true nature and aspirations of the Islamists, and to craft appropriate responses. This thesis argues that political Islam is not a monolithic "Green Menace"; while pervasive, and influenced by unifying aspects of a common Third World "crisis" environment and the "fundamentals" of the Islamic faith, it is paradoxically a diverse grouping of ideologies that is polycentric in character. These ideologies vary in specific origins and means of sociopolitical action while emphasizing a political focus aimed primarily at local, intrastate levels. Given the phenomenon's multifaceted nature, the U.S. must develop a similar diversity in its policy approaches.

WHEN THE WEAK CHALLENGE THE STRONG THE NORTH KOREAN NUCLEAR CRISIS

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This thesis examines the political behavior of weak states in crises through a detailed case study of the recent North Korean nuclear crisis. In the early 1990s, North Korea initiated a political challenge that threatened both U.S. nonproliferation and South Korean defense interests. North Korea manipulated the shared risks of the ensuing crisis to achieve political objectives rather than military victory, which was unobtainable due to U.S. and South Korean defense efforts. It is puzzling how a small state, such as North Korea, could nevertheless successfully challenge more powerful states and not be punished. Indeed, North Korea was rewarded for its challenge. Asymmetric conflict theory states that a weaker state, even after assessing its disadvantages vis-a-vis an opponent, can successfully challenge stronger adversaries to political and strategic advantage. In the North Korean nuclear crisis, its limited aims/fait accompli strategy—namely, developing nuclear weapons and gaining economic benefits from the West—and changing domestic politics were the driving force behind its challenge. The findings of this study provide some theoretical insights as well as policy implications for the United States and South Korea in their policy toward North Korean nuclear behavior.

ROLE OF SOF IN PARAMILITARY OPERATIONS

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This thesis is a historical study of United States paramilitary operations since World War II. It presents a typology of operational environments based on the level of political constraint imposed upon the National Command Authority. An inductive approach is used to study three cases: OSS operations during WWII; attempts by the United States to overthrow the Castro regime; and efforts by the United States to destabilize the Sandinistas in Nicaragua. From these cases

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emerge a set of criteria that are useful in defining operational success across a spectrum of paramilitary environments. These criteria can be used to evaluate the possible use of future paramilitary operations, as well as provide benchmarks to judge which organizations, or combination of organizations, would be best suited to perform the paramilitary mission.

RUSSIAN-AMERICAN COOPERATION IN WEAPONS OF MASS DESTRUCTION COUNTER PROLIFERATION

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This thesis examines the opportunities and risks associated with a new form of military cooperation between the United States and Russia: joint strategic special operations for counter proliferation contingencies—to seize and secure, or to disable or otherwise neutralize weapons of mass destruction (WMD) facilities or WMD-armed terrorists. This thesis compares Russian and U.S. views of the future security environment, looking for areas of overlap that could serve as the basis for mutually acceptable cooperative approaches to military options to deal with new WMD threats. The most effective military options—especially in areas in or around the former Soviet Union—might require the creation of a Russian-American response force similar to the U.S. Department of Energy (DoE) Nuclear Emergency Search Team (NEST), expanded to be usable against a wide variety of WMD threats. This thesis analyzes the circumstances in which Russian-American SOF cooperation is more likely to succeed than U.S. unilateral action. The analysis concludes that information-sharing may be the most likely form of cooperation, although any Russian-American cooperative effort would reveal to the other side sensitive information about capabilities and vulnerabilities in that area of cooperation.

FOREIGN AID AND MIDDLE EAST PEACE

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This thesis examines the relationship between foreign aid and Middle East peace. The focus of this research is on Israel, and its relations with Egypt, Syria and the Palestinians. The thesis highlights the opposing interests of these actors and the United States interest in the region, and how these contrasting views seem to be roadblocks to a comprehensive peace. However, there is evidence that U.S. foreign aid can act as compensation for the compromises incurred by these actors, for the sake of peace in the region.

The thesis concludes that by inadequately addressing the root of the Arab-Israeli problem—territorial claims that essentially predate Israel's establishment, but more specifically the pre-1967 claims, and the security of all parties—U.S. foreign assistance to the region will serve as a Band-Aid approach to regional stability. However, present indicators dictate that this method is meeting U.S. Middle East Foreign Policy goals, and securing its vital interests in the region.

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AMERICA'S WAR ON DRUGS: WHO'S WINNING?

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Recently, Congress, the literary community, and the public at large have come to reconsider the war on drugs. There are many opinions regarding alternatives to this pseudo war or new measures to be taken in the war effort, but the ongoing effort itself has escaped evaluation (to determine if the United States is winning this campaign).

The intent of this thesis, then, is to explore the objectives of the war on drugs, and to determine if America is winning.

This work concludes that the current drug war is failing. The emphasis (supply or demand) and the methodology (interdiction, etc.) need to be reconsidered; and, a new plan which has the support of political and enforcement leadership must be made —its objectives should be made clear, and its goals should be meaningful, measurable and achievable.

EFFECTS OF GOVERNMENTAL POLICIES ON ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS: A COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY OF EGYPT, SYRIA, JORDAN AND ALGERIA

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Since taking power in 1952, the Egyptian government has had to face political opposition from the Islamist movement. Egyptian leaders have used various policies to neutralize the Islamists, however, the opposition has become increasingly violent and presents a threat to the stability of the Egyptian government. In the political environment of the Middle East, Egypt has long been a leader among Arab states and an intermediary between them and the West. Therefore, the stability of the Egyptian government is important to the United States in terms of regional peace and influence.

Within the Middle East, there have been other countries that have also encountered political opposition from Islamist movements and have instituted various policies from repression to co-optation in response. The focus of this thesis is on the different governmental responses to Islamic extremism in Syria, Jordan and Algeria, the effects of those responses on their respective Islamist movements, and how those effects compare to the Egyptian situation. Based on these comparisons, the conclusion is drawn that, unless Egypt allows Islamists a voice in government, the regime will collapse.

SPECIAL OPERATIONS IN LITTORAL WARFARE

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Increasingly, changes in the international environment, coupled with a reduction in U.S. military force structure, have shrunk the size and number of deploying amphibious and carrier battle groups. The impact on the reduced size of the deploying battle groups is that they are being tasked to respond to a larger diversity of military operations. Within those operations Special Operations Forces (SOF) could provide flexibility and a wide range of capabilities which could be used by the battle group commander to increase his area of influence in operations during a peacetime crisis response.

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the characteristics presented by operations in the littoral region and to examine the unique capabilities SOF provide the battle group commander in littoral operations. This thesis will then examine the degree to which mission success in littoral operations might be affected by the effective integration and

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use of SOF in conjunction with Naval Expeditionary Forces within the current naval carrier battle group command and control organization.

THE INFLUENCES AND SOURCES OF POST-SOVIET RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY: A VIEW OF THE CAUCASUS REGION

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The collapse of the Soviet Union and the apparent transition of its successor states to democracy gave rise to the hopes of greater cooperation between the United States and Russia. These hopes were met instead by a contradictory mix of cooperation and confrontation and the growing rumblings of a nationalistic Russia harboring fanciful desires of restoring its fallen empire. The aim of this thesis is to explore the various influences that shaped the goals and means of Russian foreign policy. The approach taken is to examine the synergistic effects of a variety of political, geographic, economic, cultural and ethnic influences rather than searching for a systemic explanation of Russian actions. Using the Caucasus region as a starting point for investigation, this author demonstrates how these factors, in combination and in isolation, account for the development of Russian action. Equally as important is the recognition that these factors are not new to post-Soviet but previously influenced both Imperial and Soviet Russia.

CASE STUDIES IN EAST ASIAN ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA AND THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

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Since the end of Cold War, economic strength has become the leading symbol of power and means of achieving peace and stability. East Asia is widely viewed as *the up-and-coming economic power center*. Examination of East Asian economic development can provide some useful insights into overall patterns of development and influence, and suggest the path to a post-Cold War world future of peace and prosperity. This thesis provides two representative case studies: the Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China. These studies emphasize the importance of external (foreign) development assistance to modernization in lesser developed countries (LDCs) and the roles played by the United States and Japan as the world's major sources of such assistance. Findings include: (1) LDCs can make extensive use of foreign development assistance without losing control — or sovereignty — over their economies or the direction of their development, (2) mature, industrialized economies can provide large amounts of assistance to LDCs without destroying their own economic futures, (3) the experience of the East Asians can provide useful alternatives for LDCs worldwide, and (4) a partnership has emerged between the United States and Japan as sources of development assistance.

THE FBI AND DOMESTIC COUNTERTERRORISM: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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This thesis is an attempt to analyze the effectiveness of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) in countering domestic terrorism in comparison to other democracies. In the first chapter, there is an attempt to define terrorism by examining the historical development and early attempts at defining terrorism. The second chapter describes the history of

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the FBI and its early battles with domestic terrorists, including infringements upon constitutional rights. The third chapter relates Israel's problems with domestic terrorism by outlining the professional development and tragic errors of the Shin Bet (Israel's domestic security service). Great Britain's attempts to crush the Irish Republican Army are the subject of the fourth chapter. The fifth chapter concludes by demonstrating that each country has sought to eliminate domestic terrorism but no matter what method is used, eventually, they are forced to negotiate with the terrorists.

MANEUVER WARFARE AND THE U.S. NAVY'S NEW STRATEGIC CONCEPT

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This thesis examines the extent to which modern maneuver warfare theory is relevant to naval warfare and the U.S. Navy's new strategic concept. This question is important because Naval Doctrine Command, established to translate the strategic vision of "...From The Sea" into doctrinal reality, seized upon the concept of maneuver warfare in *Naval Warfare* (Naval Doctrine Publication One) as the most appropriate war fighting style for the naval services. Modern maneuver warfare theory was developed from land warfare experience to solve specific problems of that warfare medium. The current body of literature treating the adoption of maneuver warfare by the naval services does not address the question of its relevance at sea or in the littoral. This thesis develops a framework for determining the relevance of maneuver warfare to the naval services by defining the concept and describing its essential elements. It then examines why the U.S. Army and Marine Corps adopted maneuver warfare in the 1980s. The thesis concludes that the littoral arena makes the adoption of maneuver warfare for the naval services relevant and necessary.

U.S. SECURITY ASSISTANCE TO EGYPT: A SOURCE OF INFLUENCE OR ILLUSION?

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This thesis examines how the United States uses military assistance to influence the foreign and domestic policies of Egypt, one of the two leading recipients of U.S. security aid. While it is generally believed that arms transfers provide a patron state with influence over a client state's behavior, little evidence has been provided to support this proposition. This research examines influence theory and the difficulties associated with the study of influence. Then it examines how the Foreign Military Sales (FMS) and the International Military Education and Training (IMET) programs serve as tools for the United States to exert influence. Finally, these programs are evaluated through an examination of Egyptian policy-making during three historical periods which correspond to the presidencies of Gamal Nasser, Anwar Sadat, and Hosni Mubarak. The FMS program influences Egyptian behavior through the development of numerous U.S.-Egyptian personal relationships at all governmental levels and through Egyptian dependence on the United States for weapons, training, financing, and follow-on support. The IMET program influences the potential leaders of Egypt by providing students exposure to U.S. culture and values. U.S. influence efforts in the case of Egypt have been most successful in obtaining short-term goals that were of mutual interest to both nations.

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THEATER BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE: NEW UNITED STATES STRATEGIC REQUIREMENTS AND THE ABM TREATY

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This thesis examines the continued utility of the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty for U.S. national security interests. The President has identified the proliferation of theater ballistic missiles (TBM) as a threat to U.S. national security. However, in the view of some observers, the theater missile defense (TMD) systems the United States is developing may violate the ABM Treaty—a treaty that the Clinton administration is committed to maintaining.

This study reviews the value of the ABM Treaty to U.S. national security interests, in view of evolving post-Cold War circumstances. The origins of the ABM Treaty are reviewed to put the current ABM Treaty debate in perspective and to advance understanding of why the United States and the Soviet Union were able to reach agreement in negotiating the treaty, despite their dissimilar goals. Other issues examined include the U.S. domestic politics of the ABM Treaty from its inception to the present day and the impact of the ABM Treaty on the strategic defense and nuclear weapons policies of Britain, France and China (the other three recognized nuclear powers not party to the treaty), and the current stakes the United States and Russia may have in the treaty in building post-Cold War cooperation.

This thesis concludes that the ABM Treaty remains useful for the national security interests of the United States in the post-Cold War world and should be maintained as currently written. However, self-imposed U.S. testing constraints delineated by the 1972 "Foster Box"—should be unilaterally revised, to reflect modern strategic ballistic missile ranges and velocities and to establish that projected U.S. TMD deployments are consistent with the ABM Treaty. Additionally, the treaty should not be multilateralized and issues of national missile defense (NMD) and TMD should be kept completely separate, given that NMD is regulated by the ABM Treaty while TMD is not.

NORWEGIAN SECURITY POLICY AND NEW ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES

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The evolution of Norwegian security policy is a result of the evolving post-Cold War political order in Europe and the relationship that Norway has vis-a-vis its neighbors. A new set of priorities is emerging. With the end of the Cold War the factors which influenced the security policies of Norway since World War II have changed to include more non-traditional factors. In the past, Norway's security concerns were primarily dictated by the military threat from the Soviet Union. Now, as the twenty-first century approaches, the former Soviet Union does not pose an immediate military threat. However, the Arctic still remains strategically important for Norway and NATO. These new priorities emphasize a foreign and security policy which stabilizes the region through political and economic aspects vice military means. This change however does not delete the traditional emphasis on the military aspects.

Environmental degradation is one aspect of the non-traditional influences with which Norway is now concerned. The presence of a decaying Russian (former Soviet Union) nuclear submarine fleet coupled with the largest concentration of nuclear reactors in the world in the Kola Peninsula region pose a threat to Norway. Environmental issues have come to the forefront of Norwegian security and foreign policy concerns and, in response, Norway has become a leader in emphasizing the importance of addressing environmental problems internationally.

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WHO ARE THE SOLDIERS OF THE REVOLUTION?

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This thesis records the results of data-based analysis of 207 intrastate wars from 1945 to 1995. The intent of developing this database was to statistically determine the involvement of indigenous peoples in violent rebellion since 1945. The hypothesis was that a definable group, indigenous peoples, had been active in civil strife out of all proportion to its numbers. This had not been seen as major theories categorized the insurgents of social revolutions and civil strife as peasants or ethnonations. The analysis starts with a descriptive assessment of who and where indigenous peoples are by establishing a working definition. Next, it identifies the statistically supportable regional and international trends of their participation in intrastate conflict. The ultimate goal of the thesis was to determine the percentage of intrastate wars in which indigenous peoples participated, their role in the war, and who they supported. Another goal accomplished was to establish a database on modern intrastate conflict, which had not been done before. The conclusion was that indigenous peoples had indeed played a significant role in a large proportion of the world's intrastate conflicts since 1945.

THE LIMITS OF TYPE D COERCIVE DIPLOMACY IN SOMALIA

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This thesis argues that the U.S./U.N. intervention in Somalia in 1992-1994 represents an attempt to use coercive diplomacy to re-create the Somali state. It further argues that the pre-conditions for a successful use of coercive diplomacy existed initially during the U.S.-led United Task Force (UNITAF) phase, but they quickly disappeared during the expanded mission of United Nations Somalia II (UNOSOM II).

This thesis proposes that UNITAF leadership were quite successful in accomplishing their limited objectives. Additionally, when UNOSOM II assumed the mission in Somalia, the expanded mandates and policies chosen by both the U.S. and the U.N. changed the conditions for success and led the UNOSOM II forces to war with members of the Somali militia.

MOTIVATIONS FOR SUBMARINE ACQUISITIONS IN ASIA

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Submarine acquisitions are on the rise throughout Asia. This thesis examines the national motivations behind this trend in three cases: India, China and Japan. Four hypotheses—focusing on national security, factional interests, technological momentum and institutional theory—are utilized in order to gain insight into the decision-making process surrounding submarine acquisitions. The development of a conventional submarine fleet is strongly influenced by national security issues. The remaining three factors are also present in each case of submarine acquisitions, to a much lesser degree. Indian and Chinese nuclear submarine developments are difficult to justify based solely on security threats due to the submarine's lack of strategic integration and the availability of low cost conventional submarines to cover professed strategic interests. In each case, factional interests influenced the control of the nuclear programs, while at the decision-making level, nuclear submarines are perceived as an avenue to higher international standing or as a means to fulfilling the international role to which the country aspires.

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RISK IN MILITARY OPERATIONS

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This thesis explores the nature and dynamics of risks faced by political leaders and military commanders in the conduct of military operations. It develops a systematic approach to analyzing and an effective strategy for minimizing exposure to risks in military operations.

This thesis describes a military operation's aggregate risk as the sum of two components: the risk of military failure and the risk of political failure. Each component is shown to be usefully represented as a cost-weighted probability and the significant variables affecting the costs of failure and the probability of failure are examined. Based on this conceptual framework, a mathematical model is formulated that illustrates the fluctuations in an operation's political, military and aggregate risk as a function of the amount of control delegated by the political leader to the military commander. Analysis of this model leads to a useful approach for enhancing the success of military operations: command and control arrangements that reflect the optimal delegation of control minimize the operation's aggregate risk and, therefore, increase the likelihood of operational success. The thesis concludes by testing this strategy of risk minimization in two historical case studies and in a hypothetical application to a commando-type special operation.

HOW MEN REBEL: AN ORGANIZATIONAL MODEL FOR INSURGENCY

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Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-December 1994

and

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Internal conflict is steadily increasing in importance. Whether it is called low intensity conflict or operations other than war, current conflict theories do not adequately explain the dynamics of internal conflict nor provide clear prescriptive policy guidance. This thesis serves two purposes. The first is to provide a model to analyze and describe internal conflict dynamics. The second is to provide decision-makers with a strategic, systemic framework to successfully conduct internal war. The thesis is divided into four sections. The first examines internal conflict theories and develops a model. The second tests the model in three case studies demonstrating the explanatory effectiveness of the model. The third looks at the theoretical and practical implications of the model for an external actor such as the United States. The fourth section concludes the study and highlights policy prescriptions. A systemic approach to internal war provides policy makers at the NSC, DoD and DOS with a useful and objective decision making tool.

REEXAMINING THE LEGISLATIVE RESTRICTIONS ON THE DOMESTIC USE OF THE UNITED STATES MILITARY TO COMBAT DOMESTIC TERRORISM: A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS

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Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-September 1996

Advisor: Maria Moyano, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: William Dunaway, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis is an attempt to compare the current legislative and military posture of the United States, in its effort to deal with a potentially growing domestic terrorist threat, with that of Great Britain. The introductory chapter presents the argument that the United States may learn valuable lessons by examining the British response to domestic terrorism.

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The second chapter takes a historical look at the development of U.S. legislation that defined the President's authority to call forth the militia and federal troops for domestic use. The third chapter examines the British use of emergency legislation as well as their decision to employ the army in an effort to curtail domestic terrorism posed by the Irish Republican Army when local police efforts failed. The fourth chapter concludes with a discussion on current U.S. legislation dealing with domestic terrorism and on the lessons the United States may learn from the British experience as the U.S. continuously adjusts to a changing domestic security environment.

NAVAL TRENDS IN ASEAN: IS THERE A NEW ARMS RACE?

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Global military spending is decreasing. However this trend does not apply to some regions of the world, specifically Southeast Asia. This thesis describes the ongoing naval arms buildup in this region and examines why it is occurring when the rest of the world is decreasing military spending. Next, this thesis asks if this arms build-up is dangerous. Unlike many other arms races around the world, the Southeast Asian build-up is not particularly dangerous because of the parallel development of confidence and security building measures.

This question is answered affirmatively and then an examination of the causes of this situation is done. Using three countries as case studies—Thailand, Singapore, and Indonesia — an argument of a combination of three factors fuels an arms race is done. The three categories which drive a naval arms race are economic growth, changes in perceived threat, and prestige. Thai naval expenditures are affected by all three factors in roughly equal proportions. Singaporean expenditures are driven by economics and prestige considerations. Changes in Indonesian spending are the result of security and prestige considerations.

The next question is whether the arms race is dangerous. Nations in the region have engaged in serious efforts to establish effective confidence and security building measures which have mitigated the negative effects of an arms race. As long as these efforts continue, there is little danger in the arms race degenerating into armed conflict.

A STRATEGIC-MILITARY ANALYSIS OF THE UKRAINIAN ARMED FORCES

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This thesis is a strategic net assessment of the Ukrainian Armed Forces and analyzes its present capability and desire to fight for its newly proclaimed state. It evaluates the military doctrine of Ukraine, the force structure and levels of its military, the various strategic and operational factors affecting the force, and the effects of the "ethnic security map" created by the former Soviet Union on the present-day Ukrainian military. Finally, it assesses four major components of military capability—force structure, modernization, readiness, and sustainability.

The findings of this study are that the Ukrainian Armed Forces can sustain short-term combat operations, but not a long war. Nevertheless, the potential is there for the Ukrainian military to develop fighting capability to deter war. Even in its current force posture, Ukraine is a serious regional military power. It can defend its western borders and for the near term, provides a credible deterrence against a potential external military threat from Russia. This capability will improve in time as military reforms progress and the other components of military capability are brought up to projected levels.

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TURKEY'S ECONOMY: PAST PERFORMANCE AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

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The purpose of this study is to offer a fairly general discussion of the patterns of development in Turkey between 1923 and 1991 by contrasting the 1923-1980 period with the post-liberalization era of the 1980s, and to analyze the dynamics of economic growth and the concomitant mutation the economy underwent during these years. It also strives to demonstrate that despite some favorable effects, these liberalization attempts and structural adjustment policies failed to remedy some of the most important structural problems of the Turkish economy.

The body of the thesis has focused on the government's attempts and structural adjustment and liberalization, especially those occurring during the 1980s. Based on this analysis, the thesis brought an assessment of the sustainability of the Turkish program. Finally, generalizations have been drawn as to the efficiency of economic policy making in Turkey.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF SYSTEMIC AND DOMESTIC FACTORS AFFECTING NATO ENLARGEMENT TO CENTRAL EUROPE

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Roman Laba, Department of National Security Affairs

Christopher Layne, Command, Control, and Communications Academic Group

NATO enlargement is the most contentious issue affecting the European security environment. Given that it is likely to occur, it is the responsibility of policy analysts and leaders to consider both the expected benefits for and the possible consequences of enlargement on the overall security environment. To do this, policy makers must have the tools to explore all aspects of the issue. This study attempts to provide three such tools.

First, case studies provide a view of some of the systemic and state level factors affecting the debate in Russia, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Poland, Slovakia, and the United States. Second, the study pits contending theories of these levels of analysis against each other to see if one does a better job of explaining/predicting state behavior. Finally, the study gives an overview of several policy implications of enlargement, including: how security guarantees will be extended to new members; possible Russian reactions to enlargement; and, strategies for enlargement to ameliorate the expected adverse reaction of the Russians. How NATO expands will directly influence how the Russians react.

THE ARAB-AMERICANS: A DEMOGRAPHIC AND CULTURAL PROFILE

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After the passage of the 1965 Immigration and Naturalization Act, for the first time in U.S. history, the United States acquired a large group of immigrants from Arab Muslim countries. This immigration is so recent that relatively little is known about it. This thesis is a demographic and cultural examination of the Arab community in America. It asks who the Arab-Americans are, where they come from, where they go in America, how they are assimilating, and how they organize and act socially, culturally, and politically. A key question is how cohesive they are as a community which is likely to be both a new and distinctive voice in American society and political life.

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INFORMATION AGE TERRORISM: TOWARD CYBERTERROR

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The growing ubiquity of computers and their associated networks is propelling the world into the information age. Computers may revolutionize terrorism in the same manner that they have revolutionized everyday life.

Terrorism in the information age will consist of conventional terrorism, in which classic weapons (explosives, guns, etc.) will be used to destroy property and kill victims in the physical world; technoterrorism, in which classic weapons will be used to destroy infrastructure targets and cause a disruption in cyberspace, and cyberterrorism, where new weapons (malicious software, electromagnetic and microwave weapons) will operate to destroy data in cyberspace to cause a disruption in the physical world.

The advent of cyberterrorism may force a shift in the definition of terrorism to include both disruption and violence in cyberspace in the same manner as physical destruction and violence. Through the use of new technology, terrorist groups may have fewer members, yet still have a global reach. The increasing power of computers may lower the threshold of state sponsorship to a point where poor states can become sponsors and rich states are no longer necessary.

This thesis explores the shift toward information warfare across the conflict spectrum and its implications for terrorism. By examining the similarities and differences with past conventional terrorism, policy makers will be able to place information age terrorism into a known framework and begin to address the problem.

MINE WARFARE: AN OLD THREAT PRESENTS NEW CHALLENGES FOR

NATO'S POST-COLD WAR NAVIES

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This thesis analyzes the possible implications to global maritime interests posed by the growing international proliferation of advanced sea mines, and examines the role of NATO's mine countermeasures (MCM) forces in countering this threat in the post-Cold War security environment. It is argued that, given the Iraqi mining success during the Gulf War, the current global proliferation of sophisticated sea mines, and deficiencies in the international laws which govern their use, mine warfare will present a growing threat to vulnerable Western nations into the next century. Consequently, NATO's mine countermeasure forces will have a prominent role in future Alliance or UN-mandated out-of-area naval contingencies, ranging from counter-terrorism operations to major regional conflicts, and will be called upon to provide a credible MCM capability to protect Alliance and coalition naval forces, secure vital sea lines of communication (SLOCs), and ensure unimpeded maritime freedom of the seas prescribed under international law. NATO's capability to meet these challenges will depend largely on its ability to reorient its focus toward the requirements necessary to train and maintain a first-rate MCM rapid deployment force. As a leader within NATO, the United States Navy must assume the lead in forging multinational transatlantic MCM forces capable of dealing with any global mining contingency.

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MICROVIOLENCE AT SEA, 1975-1995: A DATA ANALYSIS

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The traditional definition of terrorism has resulted in the failure to effectively categorize all political acts of violence in the maritime environment. This thesis offers the more practical and useful paradigm of "Microviolence" for viewing this phenomenon. The intent of developing this paradigm was to create a framework which permits the creation of data-based investigation of all recorded incidents of illegitimate political violence in the maritime environment. The database itself is focused on the period from 1975 to 1995 and was designed to permit rigorous statistical analysis. The database includes 374 reported cases of microviolence and each were dissected into 98 separate variables to permit a comprehensive quantitative and statistical picture of the trends and characteristics of microviolence for the past 20 years to be developed. The ultimate goal has been to create a comprehensive tool to determine and analyze the characteristics of illegitimate political violent incidents and its perpetrators.

CASE STUDY ANALYSIS OF AIR POWER DEVELOPMENT AS A TEST OF EXTERNAL DEMOCRATIC STATE BEHAVIOR

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The United States National Security Strategy is based on two essential propositions: that peaceful international relations can be established through the global spread of democracy and economic capitalism. This thesis challenges the premise of democratic peace through a case study analysis of French, British, and United States' air power development in the 1920s and 1930s. The most powerful argument supporting this theorem is that a democracy's culture, perceptions, and practices inculcate internal nonviolent conflict resolution which are, in turn, practiced in their external relations with other states. If this were true, a democracy's international interaction would reflect these influences in their military, economic, and political exchanges. Focusing on the military aspect of international relations supporting national security, this thesis evaluates if democracies historically tended toward more humanitarian approaches. Did the development and application of democratic state air power doctrine support the notion that democracies tend to be peaceful international actors? At stake is the direction of United States' national security policy and whether it will be based on an idealistic view of international interaction—the "prism of peace"; or whether it should continue to be founded with a realist's eye toward interstate relative power considerations.

ANALYSIS OF THE AIRCRAFT MANUFACTURER IPTN: AN INDONESIAN STATE-OWNED COMPANY

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This thesis deals with Indonesia's state-owned aircraft manufacture, IPTN. The objective of the thesis is to analyze trends in IPTN investment. In particular, it analyzes the impact of IPTN's capital formation over the 1976 - 1992 period on Indonesia's GDP.

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First, a brief description of IPTN's background and Indonesia's economic condition is presented. Second, an assessment is made as to why IPTN should have strategic planning to compete in the international market. Third, based on econometric analysis, IPTN's prospects for the future are examined.

As is typical with econometrics, the data is incomplete; however, a trend can be identified. The model used shows that the government's investment in IPTN does not appear to have a significant impact on Indonesia's economic growth, as measured by GDP.

Finally, recommendations for IPTN are made, including accepting foreign and private investors and utilizing a niche marketing strategy. A strategic planning programs for international marketing is also outlined.

PEACEKEEPERS ATTEND THE NEVER AGAIN SCHOOL

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James J. Wirtz, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis examines the lessons the U.S. Army drew from the war in Vietnam and how these lessons influence current Army attitudes toward peace operations. The thesis finds that the Army's failure in Vietnam contributes not only to the Army's aversion toward peace operations, but also to its reluctance to participate in any limited war.

It posits that culture has explanatory power in describing the Army's attitudes and policies toward peace operations. The thesis examines the development of the lessons of Vietnam, especially the emergence of the "never-again" school by surveying the articles written in *Army*, *Military Review* and *Parameters* about Vietnam and peace operations between 1972 and 1995. The thesis describes the Army's confusion over the meaning of Vietnam in the 1970s, shows the Army's building a consensus around certain lessons of Vietnam in the 1980s and examines application of these lessons to peace operations in the 1990s.

Two events were influential in shaping the Army's understanding of the lessons of Vietnam: the publication of the book, *On Strategy*, in 1982, and a speech given in 1984 by Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger. Harry Summers' book on America's failure in Vietnam and Secretary Weinberger's speech on pre-conditions for U.S. military intervention codified the Army's lessons of Vietnam. These two events codified the many lessons of Vietnam into *The Lessons of Vietnam*.

The thesis concludes by focusing on how the lessons of Vietnam influence the Army's attitude toward peace operations attitudes and influenced its policy. It first describes how Operation Desert Storm curtailed the growth of the competing LIC subculture. Second, the thesis illustrates the hesitant attitudes of authors writing in the periodicals and the Army's reluctance to embrace peace operations. Autobiographies of senior officers are used to support the attitudes found in the military journals.

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DUAL CONTAINMENT IN THE PERSIAN GULF: STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS AND POLICY OPTIONS

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and

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Master of Arts in National Security Affairs-June 1996

Advisors: Daniel Moran, Department of National Security Affairs

Ahmad Ghoreishi, Department of National Security Affairs

This thesis is a critical analysis of U.S. foreign policy toward Iran and Iraq known as a policy of dual containment. The objective of dual containment is to isolate these regimes politically, economically and militarily. This thesis evaluates American conduct in the region for the last 50 years, in order to show how previous strategies culminated in the present policy. It discusses both the merits and problems inherent in dual containment, as well as the impact of this policy on its two intended recipients. In closing, the thesis offers possible policy options, including an analysis of their specific advantages and disadvantages. The findings of this research conclude that dual containment is a sustainable policy in the near term and ensures that U.S. vital national interests in the region are not challenged. In the long term, however, it is argued that America needs to initiate a policy of incremental engagement toward both Iran and Iraq. This strategy should begin with economic ties leading eventually to diplomatic relations. Nevertheless, both regimes need to demonstrate the desire and ability to accept the standards of behavior as established by the community of nations.

THE STRATEGIC UTILITY OF MINI-SUBMARINES

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Involvement of Special Operations Forces (SOF) in worldwide crises will continue to increase as rising nationalism, religious fundamentalism, rapid population growth, and socioeconomic decline foster Third World instability. With increased employment of SOF, the need for clandestine means of transporting them to areas of conflict rises accordingly.

U.S. Special Operations Command is presently developing a new mini-submarine for maritime special operations called the Advanced SEAL Delivery System (ASDS). This thesis explores concepts for the employment of the ASDS as an undersea mobility platform. The research includes review of mini-sub development, analysis of combat lessons learned, and a close look at existing theater requirements for SOF mobility.

Historical inquiry reveals that mini-submers have often had strategic wartime consequences. Today's coastline and harbor defenses are aided by sophisticated arms, sensors and technology, but are largely oriented to surface and air defense, leaving a virtual underwater blindspot. The undersea is the last frontier where maritime forces can operate in denied areas with relative impunity. The ASDS is the only reliable means of prosecuting a significant number of the targets projected by the theater CINCs. Thus the strategic utility mini-submarines is demonstrated.

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SOF AND CONVENTIONAL FORCE INTEROPERABILITY THROUGH SOF RECONFIGURATION

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The goal of this thesis was to decide what environment variables affected past SOF attempts at achieving interoperability with the conventional military, to examine the status of SOF and conventional forces interoperability as it exists today, and to explain why now is the time for SOF to engage in the reconfiguration of its forces to achieve an optimal level of interoperability.

Five variables were used in the examination of SOF organization evolution toward interoperability with conventional forces. The interplay of these variables showed that environment changes combined with sponsorship of civilian leadership had a dominant, yet, short-lived effect on SOF attempts at achieving interoperability with the conventional military, and that the incremental gains in structural and organizational aspects of SOF created conditions for achieving interoperability in the future. This window of opportunity is temporary, since SOF exists in an environment of competitive bureaucracies. Recommendations for SOF leaders in their pursuit of interoperability with conventional forces are presented. An opinion on how SOF might reconfigure itself to engage interoperability is provided.

ALL-SOURCE INTELLIGENCE SUPPORT TO SURFACE COMBATANTS FOR EXPANDING AND NEW MISSIONS

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Surface combatants will increasingly be tasked to perform more independent operations as the Navy continues to decrease in size and commitments for forward deployed forces continue to grow. During the next ten years, weapons and command and control capabilities on surface combatants will increase. Missions such as Naval Surface Fire Support and Theater Missile Defense will become critically important in the littoral warfare battlefield. Surface combatants will become a vital part in supporting joint littoral warfare and will also exercise command and control as a part of it. The Intelligence Community is becoming more responsive to warfighter needs on all levels. Deployed forces afloat are now being supported by an evolving "pull" architecture of intelligence support to include government, and, increasingly commercial satellite communications. Surface combatants should be included in this intelligence support, using satellite connectivity and on board intelligence systems to provide the all-source intelligence for expanding missions both within the battle group and during independent operations.

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DUAL CONTAINMENT IN THE PERSIAN GULF: STRATEGIC CONSIDERATIONS AND POLICY OPTIONS

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This thesis is a critical analysis of U.S. foreign policy toward Iran and Iraq known as a policy of dual containment. The objective of dual containment is to isolate these regimes politically, economically and militarily. This thesis evaluates American conduct in the region for the last 50 years, in order to show how previous strategies culminated in the present policy. It discusses both the merits and problems inherent in dual containment, as well as the impact of this policy on its two intended recipients. In closing, the thesis offers possible policy options, including an analysis of their specific advantages and disadvantages. The findings of this research conclude that dual containment is a sustainable policy in the near term and ensures that U.S. vital national interests in the region are not challenged. In the long term, however, it is argued that America needs to initiate a policy of incremental engagement toward both Iran and Iraq. This strategy should begin with economic ties leading eventually to diplomatic relations. Nevertheless, both regimes need to demonstrate the desire and ability to accept the standards of behavior as established by the community of nations.

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM IN INDONESIA

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This is a study of Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia. Islamic fundamentalism is defined as the return to the foundations and principles of Islam including all movements based on the desire to create a more Islamic society. After describing the practices and beliefs of Islam, this thesis examines the three aspects of universal Islamic fundamentalism: revivalism, resurgence, and radicalism. It analyzes the role of Islam in Indonesia under Dutch colonial rule, an alien Christian imperialist power. Following independence in 1945, Islam became less influential in national politics. Focusing on the current situation, this thesis examines the ways in which Islamic fundamentalism could threaten U.S. security interests. It concludes that growing Islamic fundamentalism in Indonesia is inevitable but is not likely to pose a direct threat to U.S. interests in the near future. Nonetheless, it deserves close attention given Islam's propensity to mobilize mass support throughout Indonesia.

THE BRITISH-IRA PRENEGOTIATIONS AND THE EFFECT OF UNITED STATES INVOLVEMENT

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With the end of the Cold War and of the predictability of bi-polar power arrangements, the opportunity to shape global security has arisen. As the sole remaining superpower, the United States has an opportunity and probably a requirement to attempt to shape this new international environment. As new conflicts arise and old ones continue, nations try to

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negotiate to solve these problems diplomatically. To facilitate negotiations, a phase of prenegotiation takes place to try to get the parties to the negotiating table. This thesis uses the British-IRA prenegotiations to examine this process and to explore the role the United States can and should play in international conflict resolution. The case is studied using prenegotiation and negotiation theory, which is reviewed in chapter II. The current British-IRA prenegotiations process is examined along with the role the United States has played. Despite British objections, the United States has gotten involved in facilitating the talks, often benefiting the IRA-Sinn Fein side. This has had a negative effect on the British-U.S. relations, but the overall effect has been positive, forcing the issue and moving the prenegotiations towards final negotiations.

U.S. INTERVENTION IN GRENADA, PANAMA, AND HAITI: A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

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This thesis uses *social constructionism* to examine the motives for U.S. intervention in Grenada (1983), Panama (1989), and Haiti (1994). Content analysis is applied to news editorials, Congressional in-session remarks and Presidential addresses, remarks, and press conferences to link national rhetoric to U.S. intervention policy. The case studies identify a shift in the pattern of debate within and between the American public and policy makers simultaneous with the end of Cold War. Review of the case studies suggests that in the future, U.S. policy makers must contend with an intervention policy characterized by: a) multilateralism, b) vague, mutable national interests, c) obstructionist Congressional procedures, and d) an intolerance for casualties. Alone, the information provided by rhetoric is incomplete, but when combined with analysis of the external variables that affect the actions of states, the results are a comprehensive understanding of the dynamic nature of U.S. foreign policy and an insight into the nature of interventions in the post Cold War world.

CHINESE TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS

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The United States, Russia and Great Britain have retired all nonstrategic nuclear weapons. Surprisingly, China has not. China seems to value highly tactical nuclear weapons (TNWs). Most studies of China's nuclear arsenal focus on strategic nuclear weapons. This focus could mislead those trying to understand PRC TNW strategy. The purpose of this thesis is to explain China's TNW development.

China's nuclear arsenal evolution can be described in three phases. In the first phase, China developed a limited strategic nuclear deterrent. China's arsenal was driven by threat. Technology supplanted threat as the dominant driver during the next phase. While conducting research to miniaturize strategic warheads, TNWs were developed. During the third phase a reduced threat caused political leaders to restrain the nuclear program. The nuclear program reverted to its primary objective— building strategic weapons, causing TNW production to level off. This study explains the last two phrases of TNW development.

The research goals are twofold: to compare threat and technology, the primary motivations driving TNW production, and to examine the relationship between doctrine and development, describing how one influences the other. The conclusion offers U.S. foreign policy recommendations.

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PRECURSOR TO CONFLICT: THE CULTURAL RE-CODING OF SERBIA

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The thesis examines the origins of the conflict which engulfed the former Yugoslavia in 1991. Findings will indicate that the violence within this culturally diverse and historically multi-ethnic region of Europe was not driven by ancient ethnic sentiments, nor was it a "civil war" between "traditional tribal rivals" —fighting for "hundreds of years"— but was rather the direct result of a within-group (intra-state/inter-cultural) political struggle. The study will demonstrate that the violence witnessed by the international community can be traced to the destructive strategies adopted by a threatened status-quo elite for political survival. Specifically, the source of this tragedy can be traced to the post-Tito struggle for power in the face of political and economic reform; with primary responsibility for the deterioration falling squarely on the shoulders of the Serbian President, Slobodan Milosevic. Through extensive manipulation of the Serbian culture and its historical symbols, President Milosevic created an external threat to Serbia, united the Serbs around him in a common fight for survival, and based his domestic and foreign policies on the defeat of this fabricated threat. Far from an inevitable and "spontaneous combustion" of ethnic hatreds, the conflict began as a coldly premeditated, systematic, and violent power drive; fueled by hyper-nationalism and employing "ethnic cleansing" as Milosevic sought to create and dominate an ethnically pure "Greater Serbia".

NEAR REAL TIME HUMAN INTELLIGENCE COMMUNICATIONS IN TIME CRITICAL TARGET EXPLOITATION

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The proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) and the rapid pace of modern warfare has increased the need of the Joint Force Commander (JFC) to focus on time-critical targets (TCTs). Human intelligence (HUMINT) has had a long history of support to military targeting, but in recent years has often lacked the timeliness necessary to prosecute TCTs. Advanced communication technologies and innovative architectures are improving HUMINT's timeliness, and they promise to make HUMINT a much more valuable tool to the JFC.

The objective of this thesis is to provide an understanding of the capabilities and limitations of HUMINT in a tactical environment, and to show how, through the application of modern technology and proper organization, HUMINT can be made as responsive, if not more so, than national technical means of collection.

NATIONALISM: THE CENTRIFUGAL FORCE IN NORTHEAST ASIA

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The end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union has prompted discussions regarding the possibility of a collective security format for the Asia-Pacific region. Constructing a new regional order under a collective multilateral security organization will be an unrealistic task for policy makers as the world approaches the twenty-first century. Nationalism has resurfaced in the relations of the Northeast Asian countries and will be the primary obstacle to establishing such a security forum. The historical suspicions of these states is evident in their assertiveness regarding the complex territorial disputes, increased military expenditures, economic competition, and dependence on external natu-

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ral resources. The security environment of Northeast Asia is significantly more hostile and vulnerable to conflict in the future. Although perceptions of a multilateral security framework have been expressed, no Northeast Asian state is willing to forfeit sovereignty in favor of collective security. To protect the United States' vital interests in the region will require acknowledgment of Northeast Asian nationalism and respect for regional insecurities. A reassessment of the existing bilateral alliances and the forging of new bilateral agreements will provide the greatest flexibility for the United States to adjust to the emerging new order in East Asia.

CAN THE INDIAN NAVY RESPOND TO A GROWING CHINESE FLEET?

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The purpose of this thesis is to determine whether the Indian Navy can respond to a growing Chinese fleet by analyzing the historical development of the Indian Navy since independence. Three naval expansion periods are identified, and three causal factors are measured to determine the effects of each factor on Indian naval expansion. The three factors are: (1) responses to a perceived threat, (2) India's economic condition, and (3) the benefits of foreign military aid. The study shows that responses to an increase in perceived threat initially drove each expansion period, but a key factor in sustaining any period of development was the benefit of foreign military aid. The economy played a minor role in India's early history, but has become a primary factor for future fleet expansion. The conclusion of this thesis is that the Indian Navy will only expand if all three factors exist. Currently India perceives threats from China and Pakistan, and India is experiencing relative economic success. The factor that is not present—the one which will inhibit significant naval expansion—is the benefit of foreign military aid. Without a substitute arms supplier taking the place of the Soviet Union, the Indian Navy is not likely to expand in the near future.

THE NEUCHÂTEL AFFAIR

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This thesis, a historical case study, focuses on the conflict between Prussia and Switzerland in the middle of the nineteenth century. Specifically, the thesis examines the sources of the struggle, political developments during its course, and the military measures taken by both sides, including the operational plans for what might well have been a major war.

Through this conflict, one can observe that the Concert of Europe, established after the defeat of Napoléon, was no longer functioning as it did in 1815 and immediately after. Since the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Neuchâtel was simultaneously a Prussian Principality and a Swiss canton.

In the face of Prussian efforts to resolve this ambiguity by force, the Swiss presented a common front, setting aside the lingering divisions of the Sonderbund War (the Swiss Civil War) from a few years before. In addition to the fact that they were able to re-unite in the presence of a common foe, the Swiss impressed the Great Powers with their determination to defend themselves. The Swiss action during the Neuchâtel Affair was arguably a major factor behind the continued respect for Switzerland's neutrality by the Great Powers.

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TRANSATLANTIC LINKS, A CONTINUING NECESSITY OR JUST AN OPTION?

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After the Cold War the transatlantic link between Europe and America is no longer self-explanatory. The allies, focus increasingly on internal problems and prosperity of their own countries. Traditional alliances and partnerships seem to play a diminished role. However, this dividing trend is countered by a number of new problems, uncertainty about the future, and a worldwide interrelation in many facets of political, economic, social, and technological life. The state is no longer able to solve problems within an isolationist approach. From this perspective, partners have to be found. Because of their common history, common belief and value system, and common ideological basis, Europe and America are natural partners. On this common ground a multidimensional transatlantic partnership should be established. Structures of this partnership rely on traditional organizations like NATO, additionally however, transatlantic links have to be modernized and broadened. Both partners, America and Europe, will have advantages from this. Both, however, will have to make contributions: the Americans by being prepared to take the lead, the Europeans overcoming their traditional antagonisms, by taking over burdens and responsibilities, and by developing a European identity.

THE ROLE OF SPECIAL OPERATIONS FORCES IN OPERATIONS AGAINST THEATER MISSILES

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From World War II until the present, the U.S. military has not been able to defeat theater missiles attacks. Post-war analysis of attack efforts during World War II and the Persian Gulf War could not identify a single instance when either a German V weapon or an Iraqi SCUD was destroyed before launch. During the Cuban Missile Crisis, the best estimate that the Air Force could provide the National Command Authority was that ninety percent of the Soviet missiles in Cuba would be destroyed by an airstrike.

To correct this deficiency, the military developed joint theater missile defense (JTMD) doctrine. This doctrine attempts to integrate synergistically all U.S. military assets and capabilities. However, this doctrine does not fully integrate special operations forces (SOF) into attack operations against theater missiles. Additionally, the joint tactics, techniques, and procedures needed to implement this doctrine have not been developed. The integration of SOF's capability to conduct pre-strike and post-strike reconnaissance, critical material recovery operations and target acquisition tasks can immediately improve JTMD capabilities.

PAKISTAN: FRONTLINE STATE AGAIN?

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The objective of this study is to determine Pakistan's place in contemporary U.S. national security strategy. Today, U.S.-Pakistan relations are strained due to the Pressler Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act. The Pressler Amendment prohibits arms transfers from the United States to Pakistan in response to Pakistani efforts to develop a nuclear weapon capability. This thesis provides a historical background to the current impasse by examining Pakistani foreign policy since 1947. Next, the study examines the evolution of U.S. interests and security objectives in South and Southwest Asia. Current security objectives analyzed are the U.S. strategies to contain Iran and Iraq and to prevent nuclear

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proliferation in the region. In order to attain security objectives in the region, the author concludes that the U.S. needs a close cooperative relationship with Pakistan. Since the Pressler Amendment stands as the greatest obstacle to improved U.S.-Pakistan relations, the amendment should be repealed.

AIR SAMPLING SENSORS, THE OPEN SKIES TREATY, AND VERIFYING THE CHEMICAL WEAPONS CONVENTION

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This thesis examines a novel proposal to join two separate arms control measures to achieve unique counter-proliferation benefits. The Open Skies Treaty (OST) is a confidence-building measure between the states of NATO and the former Warsaw Pact. It allows aircraft equipped with sensors to overfly neighboring countries to monitor security-related activities. The Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) attempts to eliminate an entire category of weapons of mass destruction. It is verified through reporting procedures and on-site inspections. OST overflights could be used to verify the CWC, aiding CWC inspectors to plan their inspections. This cross-treaty measure could be enhanced further with the addition of air sampling sensors capable of testing for chemical weapons production, creating inter-treaty synergy. Once these two pacts enter into force and prove their efficacy for arms control, this proposal for inter-treaty coordination will receive more attention. Obstacles for this inter-treaty coordination include the lack of formal mechanisms in either treaty for a complementary role and the lack of political impetus to effect it. This coordination is a logical progression for arms control.

ON THE PERCEIVED OBSTACLES TO NATO ENLARGEMENT

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All too often when the issue of NATO enlargement is raised some of the current members object to it due to one of several preconceptions. The more common objections include the potential members' perceived domestic and economic problems, the various disputes between these countries themselves, and the adverse position Russia has taken regarding the question.

The author intends to show that present requirements, as set forth in the September 1995 "Study on NATO Enlargement," were not applied to previous enlargements, a fact that raises the question of fairness in present members' expectations. Furthermore, by examining three alternative scenarios for Russia in the future, it will be shown that none of these suggests that the issue of enlargement should be dropped. Finally, the study of Hungary, a country representing a "middle ground" among the so-called "Visegrad four," will demonstrate that Hungary is closer today to complying with the strict expectations set forth in the document than previously added members were, although their task was much less demanding. This implies that stereotypes are involved in resistance to NATO enlargement, which should be set aside if only to secure a more stable regional environment in Europe.

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SQUARE-DANCING INTO THE FUTURE: THE U.S. MILITARY/NGO RELATIONSHIP AND THE CMOC IN TIMES OF HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION®

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This thesis focuses on the U.S. military/Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) relationship in times of humanitarian intervention. Specifically, it examines the Civil Military Operations Center (CMOC), or the variant thereof, and its ability to facilitate collaboration and coordination between the two communities. Accordingly, this work examines the relationship in the following four case studies: 1) *Operation Provide Comfort* (southeast Turkey, northern Iraq, April 1991); 2) *Operation Sea Angel* (Bangladesh, May 1991); 3) *Operation Restore Hope* (Somalia, December 1992); and 4) *Operation Restore Hope* (Rwanda, July 1994).

While no case is exactly the same, conceptual themes have emerged. Humanitarian intervention is a political process. There is a continuum of effort. Each community should generally operate according to its comparative advantage. The principle of altruistic self-interest governs the relationship: it must be mutually beneficial in order to succeed.

The successful CMOC is not so much a designated spot as much as it is a function of personnel living and working together. It is the military's only institutional means to provide feedback on whether or not the humanitarian mandate is being met. During humanitarian interventions, it should be the focus of the military's effort. Ultimately, it is through the CMOC that the military has the best chance to craft its own exit strategy.

U.S. FOREIGN POLICY AND THE BALTIC STATES

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This thesis examines U.S. foreign policy toward the Baltic states from 1918 to 1991 to determine if the U.S. has been realistic in its dealings with small nations. An analysis of U.S. policy indicates that the United States acts hypocritically by accepting compromises on the very moral principles of which it claims to be the protectorate when domestic political costs are high. The sacrifice of national values degrades the credibility of the moral high ground necessary for U.S. policy.

This study reviews the events that occurred during the three major periods in U.S.-Baltic relations: the initial period of Baltic independence following World War I; the Soviet annexation of the Baltic during World War II; and finally the beginning of the second period of Baltic independence during the breaking up of the Soviet Union. In all three cases, U.S. policy was unclear and contradictory. The Baltic case provides a good example of the tendency for U.S. policy to be paradoxical and ineffective.

This study concludes that despite the U.S. policy of nonrecognition of the Soviet annexation of the Baltic states during the Cold War, the United States failed to adhere to its principles when given the opportunity. In the process, it also neglected problems within its borders that required attention perhaps more urgently than those outside. The tendency for U.S. policy to ignore the issues that actually threaten its security internally and placing a higher priority on external matters that do not have a real impact on its standing could likely lead to its inadvertent downfall.

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THEATER MISSILE DEFENSE: THE EFFECTS OF TMD ON U.S.-JAPAN SECURITY RELATIONS

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This thesis examines the continued pursuit of co-production efforts by the United States with Japan. The President has identified the development of Theater Missile Defenses (TMD) as a priority to counter the proliferation of theater ballistic missiles (TBM) and weapons of mass destruction (WMD). In keeping with the priorities set forth by the President, the Secretary of Defense has made several proposals to the Japanese government in regards to the purchase, increased technical exchanges, and co-production of TMD systems.

This study reviews the potential impact such efforts may pose on the future of the U.S.-Japan security relationship and the ability of the United States to exert its influence in the Asia-Pacific region. The environment which led to the initial security agreement in 1951 has been significantly altered and many believe that TMD may be the necessary tool to restore stability to the relationship. Through the application of three alliance theories this thesis analyzes the U.S. decision to pursue joint TMD production with Japan. This thesis provides background information for three theories and applies them to the history of the U.S.-Japan alliance, the FS-X co-production effort and the extended TMD proposals.

Based on this application and analysis, this study concludes that co-production of TMD will impede the production of TMD, and therefore is not in the direct interest of the United States. In addition, the exchange of technology as well as the co-production efforts will reduce the credibility and influence of the United States within the U.S.-Japan alliance. However, if the United States alone continues with its domestic development and deploys TMD systems as part of its national military strategy, it can avoid the negative effects and degradation of its influence within the alliance.

PRIVATIZATION IN INDONESIA: ONE ECONOMIC STRATEGY TO ACCELERATE ECONOMIC GROWTH

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This is a study of privatization in Indonesia. Privatization is defined as the transfer of ownership control or functions from the public to a private sector. After an overview of the terminology used in describing privatization and the current theory of privatization, this thesis examined four performance factors of Indonesia's economy: crises and reform, sustaining development, the growth challenge, and public sector. The study analyzes the public enterprise's role in economic development. Further, it examines privatization purpose and the privatization process with respect to evaluation and selection of public enterprises. The study further indicates the priority for privatizing public enterprises. Finally, the author suggests considerations and requirements for management in a privatization program.

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MANAGING MEANING: THE ROLE OF PSYCHOLOGICAL OPERATIONS AND PUBLIC DIPLOMACY IN A NATIONAL INFORMATION WARFARE STRATEGY

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Recent advances in both the speed and breadth of communications capabilities have drastically increased the value of Strategic Political Communications. The ability of individuals to gain exposure to information beyond the control of the national authorities has greatly increased the level of public engagement in foreign relations and diplomacy. However, the much discussed "Information Revolution" is not limited to the technical advances achieved in the hardware of communications. Both Military Psychological Operations and Public Diplomacy are crucial to ensuring national strategic objectives are obtained by helping to shape international perceptions of the United States, its way of life, and its national interests.

The United States needs a national level agency tasked, and granted codified authority, to devise, coordinate and implement a National Information Strategy. A National Information Strategy will bolster the National Security Strategy by focusing the efforts of all agencies involved in disseminating information for the federal government. With an understanding of the role and power of information, this agency could provide the framework for an information campaign specifically targeted to the political-military situation of an emerging crisis.

AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY AND IRAN

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The world's growing dependence on petroleum to fuel economic development ensures that a stable Persian Gulf will continue to be a vital American interest. Iran, due to its large population, abundant natural resources and geographic position demands Washington's full attention. The Clinton administration has chosen to reverse the Bush policy practice of rewarding Iran for good behavior and has instead embarked on a confrontational course with Tehran through a policy of containment.

This thesis provides an examination of U.S.-Iranian security perspectives, a discussion of internal Iranian and regional dynamics, and analyses several alternative American policy proposals. The argument advanced in this study is that the United States can better influence Iranian behavior engaging Iran politically and economically.

The author reaches the conclusion that the United States and Iran share many strategic and economic interests. It is recommended that America pursue these shared interests, from its current position of strength, and gain Iran's cooperation on important issues. Constructive engagement with Iran would strengthen the pragmatic elements in the government, foster economic development and improve the security and stability of the region.

REFOCUSING NATO'S INTELLIGENCE OUTLOOK TOWARDS BIOLOGICAL WARFARE

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Today, we are attempting to manage chaos. With the end of the Cold War, a number of troubling developments in the world have been unleashed, especially with the proliferation of WMD. Biological weapons are an increasing threat to world security. Nations and non-state actors are willing to buy or sell necessary technologies for the production of

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biological weapons which can have disastrous effects on a military, an economy, and the environment. Despite major efforts in reducing worldwide nuclear chemical capable threats, biological weapons require the same amount of attention if not more from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO must highlight the threat of biological warfare in current policies in order to educate political, military, and civilian leaders on biological warfare issues, deter the employment of biological weapons, and increase a sense of security within the Alliance. For far too long, the intelligence communities within the Alliance have definitely underestimated the biological programs of other nations and non-state actors.

Refocusing the intelligence communities towards biological warfare will be of an enormous advantage for the Alliance. Intelligence stems from the policies and directives set forth by worldwide governments. New policies will enhance the efforts of intelligence agencies and increase the awareness of the ominously growing biological warfare threat. Hopefully, if policies change, then intelligence communities will refocus their efforts towards the new change: the increasing threat of biological warfare.

COHESION, LONGEVITY AND COHORT: IMPROVING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF SPECIAL FORCES ODAs

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Throughout military history, units with high levels of unit cohesion have outperformed units with lower levels of cohesion. Longevity (how long members stay in a unit without personnel turbulence) is a key element of cohesion. Training status results from 42 different SFODAs who trained over a three-year period at the JRTC confirm that SFODAs with high levels of longevity in three critical areas were better trained than ODAs with lower levels of longevity in the same three areas. The three critical areas where longevity is required are: the overall ODA, a four man "core" element within the ODA, and ODA leadership.

Current SOPO policies for individual ODA member longevity on the same ODA require only a minimal levels of longevity. A survey of all five active duty SF groups revealed that current SFODAs have low levels of longevity in the three critical areas.

Higher longevity in these three areas can be attained without causing large changes in current TOS PCS guidelines or force structure if two things occur: First, SOPO policies are changed to require additional time of ODA service on the same ODA by ODA members for individual "fully" and "exceptionally" qualified status. Second, either the 24-month or 18-month SFODA COHORT model presented in this thesis (based on the current Navy SEAL platoon operational cycle model) are adopted. For a seven-page executive summary, see Chapter VI: "Thesis Summary."

PANAMANIAN-U.S. RELATIONS TOWARDS 2000: AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PARTNERSHIP

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This thesis reviews Panamanian-U.S. relations in an attempt to understand the possibilities in the relationship both now and beyond 2000. This subject is important because of the strategic interest of the United States in Panama and the Panama Canal. As currently planned, the United States will turn over control of the Canal and the last U.S. military forces will depart by noon on 31 December 1999. This, however, may not be necessary or desirable. After viewing three levels of analysis—the international system, domestic politics, and leadership—this thesis has determined that there are possibilities in Panama other than a total withdrawal by the United States. In the current environment (of an international system moving towards regional integration; of a domestic political reality in Panama dominated by

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commercial interests; and an urban, upper-class, seemingly pro-U.S. president in the leadership position), it seems that the United States could successfully pursue some involvement in post 1999 management of the Panama Canal and the renegotiation of U.S. basing rights in Panama beyond 2000.

PROMOTING DEMOCRACY: THE UNITED STATES AND HAITI

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The purpose of this thesis is to determine the most important factors necessary for democratic transition in Haiti, and to assess the U.S. role in promoting democracy. This thesis provides an in-depth review of theoretical literature on democratization. The thesis then reviews Haitian history, with a focus on the legacies that have significant implications for the democratization of Haiti. This thesis concludes that the United States' support of democracy in Haiti is a necessary but insufficient condition for establishing democracy in that country. The United States cannot compensate for Haiti's internal shortcomings, but it can seek to affect the two most important internal factors for Haiti's democratization: civil-military relations and political institutions. U.S. support for democracy in Haiti will only succeed if the Haitian civilian government exercises control over the military, and if Haiti's political institutions are efficient and functioning properly. Finally, the thesis: (a) provides recommendations for U.S. vis-a-vis Haiti, (b) argues that the Haitian case can only be generalized in narrow instances, and (c) raises issues for future research.

THE EVOLUTION OF U.S. ARMY PEACE OPERATIONS

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Peace operations have had difficulty in being accepted by the U.S. Army, have not been institutionalized, and continue to challenge the Army as an institution. Insight from the sociological perspective known as social construction was used to examine doctrinal development and institutionalization. Social constructionism predicts that until a new mission is accepted by the individual and the group, it will continue to cause disequilibrium. The constant reconceptualization and changing terminology within peace operations reflected the inability of the Army to accept peace operations as a primary mission. The national security strategy of the U.S. is the primary, the first step in the social construction of peace operations. When peace operations were considered to serve national interests, the Army began to develop appropriate doctrine for these missions. Army professional literature highlighted how the Army leadership conceptualized peace operations and the amount of attention that they believed should be dedicated to the mission. Doctrinal development was traced from post-World War II, demonstrating the inability of the Army to accept peace operations as a primary mission. Until a coherent doctrine for peace operations is developed, these missions will not be accepted and will continue to challenge the Army as an institution.

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CHAOS, CLAUSEWITZ, AND COMBAT: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF OPERATIONAL PLANNING IN THE VIETNAM WAR, 1966-1971

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What can theory tell us about war and the role of planning therein? This thesis attempts to answer that question by using Carl von Clausewitz's theories on war and the mathematical theory of chaos to analyze war in general and the Vietnam War in particular. It offers a critical analysis of operational planning conducted by the United States Military Assistance Command Vietnam (MACV) during the years of greatest involvement by American forces, 1966-1971. Viewing war through the dual lenses of Clausewitz and chaos theory, it argues that war tends toward one of two ideal types, conventional or popular. This typology of war is the result of the interplay of its essential components, which are described by Clausewitz and correspond to a characteristic of a chaotic system. Conventional and popular wars are qualitatively distinct and require qualitatively differentiated responses. The thesis further argues that the Vietnam War displayed the characteristics of a popular war during the 1966-1971 time frame. Last, it argues that the operational planning conducted by MACV failed to account for the popular nature of the Vietnam War and exacerbated the deteriorating situation facing it by pursuing policies more suited to a conventional war.

THE THREAT OF RADIOLOGICAL TERRORISM

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Second Reader: Terry Johnson, Department of National Security Affairs

Second Reader: Xavier Maruyama-Department of Physics

WMD terrorism is a new concern. The United States is preparing for the possibility of terrorist acts involving chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons, but the scope of these preparations is too narrow. This thesis argues that radiological devices are also viable weapons of mass destruction for terrorism. Radiological weapons are not nuclear explosives, they are designed to disperse radioactive material over an area by mechanical means or conventional explosives. The potential for radiological terrorism depends upon access to the required nuclear materials and the motivations for terrorists to use radiological weapons. Radiological weapons can use non-weapons grade nuclear material which is widely accessible throughout the world. The material is under a spectrum of physical security systems with little accountability and verification. Radiological weapons can further terrorist objectives because they can be used to contaminate individuals without producing the immediate and widespread catastrophic damage normally associated with WMD. This prospect of contamination is enough to incite the public's fear of the nuclear unknown or nuclear phobia. To counter radiological terrorism, the U.S. government should expand indications and warning through efforts to maximize the intelligence community's human intelligence assets and exploit open source collection.

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REGIONAL INTEGRATION AS A MEANS FOR ACHIEVING NATIONAL INTERESTS: THE CASE OF BOTSWANA

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Botswana gained independence in 1966 and was immediately faced with an enormous task of development since the country was very poor and depended largely on external aid. Ironically much of this grants in aid was British.

Political turmoil in neighboring countries and Botswana's economic fragility did not make anything easy. National power was almost nonexistent, and Botswana tended more to the use of diplomacy, regional and even international fora in pursuit of her national interests.

To some extent, these endeavors were successful even though there were occasional socio-economic and political setbacks. With positive changes that have occurred in the regional and international climate, diplomacy, and inter-state joint efforts have proved to be the most viable and less costly avenues for countries to pursue.

To this end, joint regional efforts within SADC are the best way to go for players in the Southern African "region."

THE NATIONAL INTEREST, PRODUCTION, AND TRADE IN EL SALVADOR

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The objective of this thesis is to develop an analysis of El Salvador's economy using available statistical data.

First, an examination is made of El Salvador's democratization process in a historical perspective. Second, an analysis is undertaken of the country's policy through historical budget allocations. Third, an assessment is made of the economic standing point of El Salvador. This discussion embraces the production sectors, to determine their strengths and weaknesses from the resources efficiency point of view. Fourth, the study analyses the implications of El Salvador's increasing trade deficit from the efficiency and equity perspectives. Fifth, a presentation is made of the economic strengths, weaknesses, threats and opportunities of the country from the short and long run perspective.

Finally, conclusions are drawn and recommendations made which could be utilized to improve El Salvador's economic future.

A MARKET-ORIENTED PETROLEUM INDUSTRY AS A PREREQUISITE TO RUSSIAN ECONOMIC SECURITY

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The Russian petroleum industry is facing a critical juncture where expedient reform is necessary immediately. The main focus of this thesis is to account for the primary barriers which hamper the free flow of former Soviet petroleum into international markets and to suggest alternatives to current Russian energy policy. A secondary objective is to scrutinize the United States' foreign policy with respect to the possibility of influencing the augmentation of world petroleum supplies. Preliminary indications suggest that confidence-building measures have been slowly introduced by the Yeltsin administration, but the positive effects have not yet been felt by the petroleum industry. International investment within the Russian petroleum industry has been sluggish at best. Transnational oil companies continue to be reluctant to invest in Russia and the former Soviet Union due to political and economic uncertainty and the high risk of

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capital loss. The future of the Russian petroleum industry appears promising provided the major barriers (e.g., tax codes, presidential decrees, pipeline construction and maintenance, and capital investment) are directly confronted and not circumvented for political leverage or corrupt economic gains.

THE IMPACT OF U.S. ARMS TRANSFER POLICIES ON RECIPIENT

STATE FORCE PLANNING AND READINESS

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Although one of the goals of the U.S. security assistance program is to strengthen the national security of friendly nations, this program has adopted and continues to adopt policies that impact negatively on its customers. This thesis focuses on the largest program element of the overall security assistance program, Foreign Military Sales (FMS), which is conducted under the authority of the Arms Export Control Act of 1976.

After explaining the U.S. security assistance program's evolution and policies, the FMS process, and the follow-on support, this thesis addresses three areas that affected the recipient procurement planning; the FMS contract clauses, the pricing, and financing. Second, it addresses the FMS case implementation process that affected the fielding of defense material to recipients units. Finally, the effect on the recipient weapon system readiness is addressed. Readiness is addressed by first examining the reliability of what is considered by the Department of Defense (DoD) to be the most effective means, the Cooperative Support Supply Arrangement (CSSA), to replenish the customers in country stock of spare and repair parts. Second, as a result of U.S. policy of not considering the ammunition and its components in the CSSA program, the problems that are facing the customers in regard to the procurement of ammunition through the normal channels are addressed.

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